COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 11.] *London, Saturday, 17th March, 1804.* [Price 10D

"Let us consider what are the dangers" [of making war against Buonaparté by means of conspirators] "and, first, there is the danger of discovery. An event of that sort would, of course, be fatal to those, whose assistance may thus have been gained; which, to an honourable mind, would be sufficient, I should imagine, to outweigh all the supposed advantages of the plan. For, how would a man feel, when he heard of the execution of persons, who only became liable to it through his means, and at his instigation."——Political Register, Vol. IV. p 163. August 6, 1803.

LORD REDESDALE.

SIR,——I entreat your indulgence to offer to the public, a few remarks, on the correspondence between Lord Redesdale and the Earl of Fingall. After the most attentive and minute examination of the letters in question, it is painful to me to observe, that the language and sentiments of the Irish Chancellor, have a strong tendency to injure the dearest interests of the empire. You must have remarked, Mr. Cobbett, that this nobleman represents the Irish Catholics not only as actually disloyal, but as precluded, by the tenets of their religion, from the possibility of paying allegiance to a Protestant Sovereign. His lordship asserts, that a Catholic cannot be faithful to a King, who is regarded by him as not belonging to the true Church of Christ, and of course is guilty of rebellion to the See of Rome. This is the leading charge of this legal divine against the Roman Catholic religion; it is repeated in a variety of forms through the whole of the correspondence, with a disgusting affectation, as if it possessed the force of a serious objection.—But, Sir, how could it have escaped the attention of the noble lord, the regular keeper of his Majesty's conscience in Ireland, that the doctrine of exclusive salvation, is carried to as great an extent, at least, by the Church of England, as it is by the Church of Rome. How could he have the presumption to enter on the discussion of a theological point, without the smallest attention to the doctrine, which he is pledged, by his situation to support? By the 18th of the 39 articles, the Athanasian Creed is received as agreeable to the scriptures. Now, according to the express terms of this Creed, *he who does not faithfully and finally believe the Catholic faith, cannot be saved.* Other passages of the same import might be produced, both from the articles and the homilies. But, what I would principally bring to the recollection of the noble lord, is, that, in order to qualify himself to sit in the British legislature, he must frequently have sworn, that the mass is manifest idolatry; that Catholics of course are idolators, who in the commination, which makes a part of the Common Prayer Book, are pronounced accursed, and as such are excluded, by St. Paul, from all hopes of entering the Kingdom of Heaven. Now, Sir, I put it to the noble theologian, how can the Catholic be charged by Lord Redesdale, with either uncharitable or disloyal principles, for maintaining the exclusive doctrine, when his lordship, as a supporter of the established Church, denies salvation not only to pagans and infidels, (see the 18th article) not only to Arians, Macedonians, Socinians, and all opposers of the Athanasian Creed, but even to Catholics themselves? If Catholic principles be inconsistent with allegiance to a Protestant King, because such a Sovereign is not regarded as a member of the Church of Christ, it will follow, by a parity of reasoning, that Protestant subjects can never be faithful to a Catholic King, who would be considered by them as an idolator? Surely, the noble lord did not see the consequences of his reasoning, when he imprudently required unity of faith as a preliminary to civil allegiance; when he commenced this unwarrantable attack, he little thought that he was going to cut his own throat in the contest.—But, Sir, that faith and allegiance are very distinct and separate concerns, the noble lord furnishes me with an incontestible proof. His lordship justly observes, that the duty of allegiance was strongly enforced by Christ and the Apostles, particularly the latter. Allow me now, Sir, forcibly to appeal to the judgment of the noble lord, on a question of this magnitude, let me ask him, if Christ could shew submission to those who sat on the chair of Moses, to those who were plotting his destruction, who, of course were objects of hatred to his Heavenly Father; if he could render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, cannot a Catholic, notwithstanding the influence of religious belief, love, respect, and obey a beneficent Sovereign? If Paul and his associates could pay allegiance to Claudius, to Nero, to pagans, to a race of rulers, whose acts of iniquity have fouled the page of history, and degraded human nature, cannot the Catholic be faithful to a King, who reigns in the hearts of his people, who

has distinguished the mild period of his government by peculiar acts of bounty to his subjects of this description? I trust, Sir, that even the bigotry and intolerance of the noble lord will relent, when he finds how easily his weapons may be turned against himself. ——The truth is, no danger is to be apprehended from the Catholics; but there is every reason to dread the consequences of the intolerant and bigoted conduct of the King's ministers, and of the folly and infatuation of their supporters. On this subject I could expatiate much; I could distinctly point out who are the real enemies of the state, and what measures are likely to terminate in the total loss of the liberties and independence of this empire. But, having already extended my letter to a sufficient length, I beg leave, for the present, to subscribe myself, with the highest esteem, yours sincerely. THE BRITISH OBSERVER.

THE NAVY.

SIR,——It has given me infinite satisfaction to find, that it appears at length, to be the disposition of some of the leading characters in the House of Commons, to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the Board of Admiralty: for my own part, I have long seen the necessity of it, and have only to regret, that it did not take place some months since; as many evils which now exist, would probably have been removed.

The several letters which have appeared in your valuable Register, having contained such a variety of circumstances, replete with injury to the service, the apathy and indolence of the legislature, has excited in me, the utmost wonder and astonishment. For many members must have been aware, that what was advanced, were not groundless causes of complaint, although flatly contradicted by the *partisans* of the Admiralty: who, without any regard to decency, stigmatised your correspondents, with the imputation of calumniators and slanderers, and every species of abuse, which their malignancy could devise: assured the public, that the measures of the Admiralty, so far from deserving censure, merited the applause and thanks of the country at large; and that those who disapproved of their conduct, were, for the most part, disappointed men, or others, who had been scourged for their illicit practices; and therefore, declared, that no credit ought to be attached to the statements of individuals, actuated by no other motives than those of malice and revenge. And, Sir, I am very sorry to say that nine tenths of the people, were disposed to adopt the sentiments of those *hirelings*; who, in order to support and justify their arguments, thus reviled those who made known the proceedings of the Admiralty, merely from a conviction, that their measures were detrimental to the interests of the country. At last it appears that the leading men in the House, begin to give credit to what has been advanced by your correspondents; and I have little doubt, but that it will be found, that the Admiralty have not merited those high encomiums, which have been so lavishly bestowed on them. Although Lord St. Vincent is wholly responsible to the public, yet I must confess, that I am not disposed to attach quite so much culpability to him, (in consideration of his great infirmities, and repeated confinements by indisposition, which have rendered it out of his power to give that attention to the duty required of him), as to those two junior Lords, Sir Thomas Troubridge and Captain Markham; who, in the absence of the first Lord, are the sole conductors of the public business; and who have availed themselves of every opportunity, to exercise their authority in the harshest manner: and, because the Navy Board were obnoxious to them, (merely owing to their not being able to remove the comptroller, and others, in order to shove themselves into their places); they have never paid any attention to their representations, as their predecessors had ever done before: which, if they had, I am confident the service would have been better conducted, and the necessity of an inquiry would never have suggested itself to any one. Surely men, who have passed so many years in the service, and who have had so much experience in a variety of situations, both civil and military, were *worthy* of being consulted, and would, it must be supposed, have given advice, beneficial to the service. Yet, Sir, notwithstanding, those two naval Lords, possessing little or no information of the duties of the civil department, put their own slender talents in competition with those old and experienced servants of the public, whose opinions they treated with scorn, and whose characters, they have attempted to vilify. As the present Admiralty began their career under the specious pretences of reform and economy, I will inquire, what effect their measures have had, and will continue to have on the service. In the first place, they commenced their functions, by giving orders for a general discharge throughout the Dock-yards, with a view to restore subordination; which discharge, unfortunately for the most part, fell on the best and most approved shipwrights; the country

was, therefore, deprived of the services of more than two hundred of those useful and necessary mechanics, whose loss is felt to this day. In answer to which, I shall be told, that mutinies frequently occurred in the Dock yards; for my own part, I never heard of any conduct of the workmen, that can possibly come under that denomination, excepting at Sheerness, in the instance of Commissioner Coffin being insulted; but which treatment, he, in a great measure, provoked, by his harsh and violent conduct. On the subject of the discharges which took place in May, 180:, I shall offer no further comment, but refer your readers to the observations of your correspondent, as stated in Vol. III. page 129 ——When the peace (or rather the armistice) took place, orders were immediately given to reduce the extra which was worked in the Dock-yards; and every thing was put on a footing, as if the ministers were *certain* of a permanent and lasting peace. Many of the workmen were employed in taking old ships to pieces, therefore the repairing of the fleet was shamefully retarded. The caulkers, in some of the yards, were nearly all dismissed, for refusing to work for the merchants; the Victory, therefore, remained six months in the wet season without being caulked; the consequence is, that she will decay sooner by some years, than she otherwise would have done: and not only the Victory, but other ships likewise, experienced a similar fate. The case of the poor caulkers was particularly hard, for they cheerfully obeyed the first and second orders that were given them to assist the merchants, and because they refused to comply with the third, (in consequence of the very ill treatment which they had received from the river caulkers); they were immediately discharged; which harsh measure reduced themselves and families to the greatest distress for several months: when the Admiralty finding every method to procure others ineffectual, *generously condescended* to re-enter them. How far the Admiralty were justified in ordering the caulkers to work in merchants' yards, when they had engaged for no other purpose but to serve his Majesty, I cannot imagine; it certainly was a stretch of power, which no former Admiralty had ever resorted to: and it unfortunately took place at a time, when their public services were much wanted, so that, certainly, a very material injury was in consequence sustained by his Majesty's navy. —Next comes the general visitation of the yards: the result was, a further *reduction* of artificers; and, I solemnly aver, that many men, whom the Admiralty superannuated and discharged as unfit for further service, were immediately employed by the merchants, and are now earning as much or more than they ever did in the Dock yards. So much for the *penetration* and *discernment* of the *immaculate* Board of Admiralty; a board which has been so frequently extolled by that *safe politician*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Many of the yards are at this day very considerably short of their peace-establishment of shipwrights, and I see little or no prospect of their numbers being increased. Yet we are told, that there is *no* deficiency of artificers. The papers say, that the Admiralty are about to give directions, to build twenty sail of the line in the Dock-yards: it is true, they may *immediately* issue their orders to that effect, but the period when they will be complied with, under the present system, will be remote indeed. For what with the yards being short handed, and the scanty supply of timber, occasioned by the distrust the merchants have of the Admiralty, render it impossible to state any time, when the country will be benefited by so desirable an accession of strength.—The next subject to which I wish to call your attention, is the manner that lads are apprenticed in the shipwright line; but as it was so ably and fully discussed by your correspondents in May and June last, I shall only briefly state, that the evils which they then suggested, would grow out of that system; begins to be daily verified. We must, therefore, no longer expect to have, either good workmen, modellers, or draftsmen; the consequence will be, that in a few years, the present reduced number of expert artificers, and almost annihilated scientific men, will be totally extinct *Then* let us look to the situation in which our navy will be placed!! On this alarming subject I would earnestly recommend to those gentlemen, who intend to render their country such an important service, as the inquiring into the conduct of the present Admiralty; to examine at the bar of the House the surveyors of the navy, men of long experience, and of approved abilities and integrity: whom, I am confident, will not only confirm what has been said, but will further prove the destructive consequences to be apprehended, from measures so incompatible with the true interest of the country.—From many circumstances that have occurred, it is reasonable to suppose, that the present Admiralty came into office with the determination to provide permanent places for themselves and friends; for instance, the Plymouth officers were dismissed to make room for Mr. Tucker, the Secretary's brother; Mr. Kittoe,

Captain Markham's purser; and Mr. Salt, a follower of Sir John Troubridge's: and all the world must recollect the memorable attempt that was made, to drive Sir Andrew Hamond from his situation: and another has recently taken place to remove Commissioner Fanshaw, to bring in Captain Grey. But the retirement of Sir William Billingham from the Navy Office, with a pension of £500 per annum, although in good health, and endowed with every faculty for the execution of his duty, because Captain Markham's brother should be provided for, has excited the surprise and indignation of every one. That the country should be burthened by pensions distributed in this manner, (by those pretenders to economy and patriotism), calls loudly for an inquiry; indeed, it can be considered in no other point of view, than a fraud on the public; and the instigators of it justly merit the punishment the law in those cases provides. ——Whenever any thing has been said in opposition to the conduct of the Admiralty, their partisans have requested the public not to form an opinion, till the reports of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry were brought forward, for then, said they, it will be found, how shamefully the service has been conducted under the old system! And further hinted, that infamous frauds and abuses would be brought to light!! Whether the statement of these tools of the Admiralty will prove them to be correct or not, time will show; but, I believe, it is now pretty well discovered by the Commissioners themselves, that there has not been *quite* so much abuse going on as those *disinterested* journalists would have every one believe. ——At Plymouth, where it was expected, frauds to the amount of thousands would have been detected, a few pounds considerably short of an hundred, has been the whole sum to which any ambiguity could be attached. And I believe I may venture to state, that in the case of the unfortunate Mr. Marshall, of whom so much has been said, the Commissioners have not, with all powers of inquiry, been able to discover that he has merited that disgrace and punishment under which he has laboured for these last two years. Indeed, Sir, I have no doubt, that a public inquiry into the conduct of the Admiralty, founded upon such information as may be afforded, would place them in a situation in which they would not be envied, even by those, whom they have so unrelentingly persecuted and degraded. I will conclude by observing, that the arguments which Captain Markham made use of the other evening, in vindication of the Admiralty, were puerile and inconsistent in the extreme; to suppose that the present low rate of insurance is the best proof that the Admiralty have done their duty, is no justification at all, when the comparative situation of affairs, at the commencement of the late and the present contest is considered: Colonel Craufurd's reply to the Hon. Captain's futile defence, is certainly one of the best that could be advanced.—— Wishing that every success may attend your labours, I remain your most humble servant,

E. V.

March 7, 1804

ANGLO-GALLIC CREDITORS.

SIR,——Your observations on the letter signed a British Creditor inserted in your Register of last week, instead of canvassing their claims by fair discussion, appear to mingle rather more of obloquy than is consistent with candour and the truth of the case. Why, otherwise, are these creditors styled "Anglo-gallic," a sort of amphibious race supposed to have half abjured their country? They are not accused of knavery it seems, or any other crime; but, in the same sentence, you add, that their debts, (that is to say, their property in the French funds,) were incurred by the purchase of assignats, and other state paper more than two-thirds below par; and that the security written on the back of this paper was "the national domains of France." If this be really so, the charge against them amounts to something more than knavery, and reaches even to high treason; for you cannot be ignorant, that at the period of depreciation of the assignats, to which you allude, an act of Parliament had passed, and then existed, that made it high-treason to hold any correspondence, or to have any money negotiation with France: and the British creditors in the French funds, (however disposed they might have been not to refuse the only security then offered to the other stockholders,) were actually precluded from accepting these national domains as an indemnity for the partial annihilation of their stock.——The fact is, these British claims, or the greatest part of them, subsisted long before this transaction; and the property, founded on them was vested either in *Rentes Viageres*, the 25 millions, or some other public French fund, and had not, nor could have any possible connexion with any gambling speculations which might or might not take place in French assignats, as well as in *congress paper*. In what way the justice and validity of these claims is affected

by the merit or demerit of Mr. Pitt, does by no means appear: nor do they depend on the treaty of 1786 merely, or any other convention; they are vested on the usages of nations, and the good faith of France; and although hitherto sacrificed by perfidy on the one hand, and pusillanimity on the other, it remains to be seen, not by an appeal to the generosity of this country, so much as to a sense of its own honour, whether in some future negotiation these British claims will not be supported with more energy and better success.——I am, yours, &c.

ANOTHER BRITISH CREDITOR.

March 4, 1804.

FRENCH CONSPIRACY.

Tribunate, 9 Ventôse, (29 Feb.)

The Legislative Body transmitted, by a message, the plan of a law relative to those who conceal Georges and his accomplices.—The plan was referred to the Section of the Legislature, which was ordered to make its report during the present sitting.—The members of this section retired from the Hall, to their usual place of sitting.—Some time afterwards they returned, when Citizen Simeon made a report, and proposed to adopt the law. The report was ordered to be printed.—The law was put to the vote, and the adoption was voted unanimously.—The speakers ordered to carry this vote to the Legislative Body were Simeon, Jard Panvilliers, and Fabre (de l'Aude.)——At three quarters past three the sittings were resumed.—A secretary read a message from the Legislative Body, announcing that the plan of the law against those who concealed Georges and his accomplices was decreed as law.——Garry.—"Citizens Tribunes, our weeping country, at the sight of the crimes meditated against our Chief Magistrate, calls for these measures against those who conceal the assassins or their accomplices." He proceeded to urge the necessity of prompt and severe measures, and concluded with proposing the following decree: "The Tribunate considering that the law of this day, relative to those who conceal Georges and his band of sixty, will be of no effect unless it is instantly executed, expresses a wish that this law may be promulgated this day."——The present decree shall be carried to the government by the President and four Secretaries.—This proposition was unanimously adopted, and the sitting rose.

March 1. The President announced, that the deputation appointed yesterday to express to the government the wish of the Tribunate had been admitted to the First Consul. The desire of the Tribunate was, that a law for punishing with death persons who should conceal Georges, or any of the sixty other persons, charged with being his accomplices, should be instantly promulgated.——Citizen Duvidal had addressed the First Consul in the following speech:——"Citizen First Consul—The Tribunate and the Legislative Body have adopted measures to cut the last bond of the conspiracy. These measures would be vain, if they were not prompt. Love of the country dictated to the Tribunate the wish which it has expressed for their being put into immediate execution. Every thing is at stake when you are in danger, it is the repose, the glory, the existence of the republic, which must be saved by saving its Chief from the attacks of crime. The French people have intimated to us their destinies; you owe it to them: and we require of you to take all means for preserving him, in whom concenter their wishes, their affections, and their hopes."——The First Consul answered, that he would take the wish of the Tribunate into early and serious consideration.—The Tribunate ordered, that the speech of the President and the answer of the First Consul be printed.

Legislative Body.

The government speakers being introduced, Simeon made a report on the law, respecting those who conceal Georges and his band. The report was ordered to be printed; and the law was passed unanimously, no other person attempting to speak.

Prefecture of Police. Paris, 9 Ventôse (Feb. 29.)

"Citizens.—The law which has been published condemns to death every individual who conceals Georges and the assassins who accompany him. They are still in Paris, where it will be impossible for them to escape, the barriers and the roads being guarded with the greatest vigilance. Let every person make known to the police such individuals as may be liable to suspicion, who reside with them or in their neighbourhood. Let those who have concealed them, or who may conceal them, profit of the time which the law grants them for the purpose of averting its axe, and concur in immediately purging the capital of the monsters, paid by our eternal enemies for renewing the horrors which they had before attempted to consummate, by means of the infernal machine on the 3d Nivôse. Under these circumstances, the denunciation will be truly acts of public justice.——Masters of furnished houses are ordered to examine every individual they have lodging with them, and to se-

they have complied with the regulations of police, and there is nothing suspicious about them. The drivers of hackney coaches are informed, these persons make use of their carriages. I have promised a reward to those who assist the police in seizing them; but the sweetest reward to a Frenchman is the satisfaction of having done a good action to his country.

The Counsellor of State and Prefect of Police. DUBOIS."

Paris, March 6.——General Paflet, especially charged with the inspection of the coast of the department of La Vendée, writes that on the night of February 26, a pinnace, containing about a dozen brigands, passed slowly along the coast for about three leagues, making several signals, and attempted three times to make a debarkation; but perceiving the mounted chasseurs, who followed her course, she sailed off.——They write from Hamburgh, that the English have employed more than sixty millions in France. Drake, at Munich, Spencer Smith, at Stutgard, their agents at Hamburgh, Franckfort, and other places, have considerable sums at their disposal.——Moniteur.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PROCLAMATION *issued at New Orleans on the 20th of December*, 1803, *by his Excellency* W. C. CLAIBORNE, *Governor of the Mississippi Territory, exercising the Powers of Governor General and Intendant of the Province of* LOUISIANA, *on* TAKING POSSESSION OF THAT PROVINCE IN BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES.

Whereas, by stipulations between the Governments of France and Spain, the latter ceded to the former the colony and province of Louisiana, with the same extent which it had at the date of the above-mentioned treaty in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states; and whereas the Government of France has ceded the same to the United States by a treaty duly ratified, and bearing date the 30th of April in the present year, and the possession of said colony and province is now in the United States according to the tenor of the last mentioned treaty; and whereas the Congress of the United States, on the 31st day of October in the present year, did enact that until the expiration of the session of Congress then sitting (unless provisions for the temporary Government of the said territories be sooner made by Congress), all the military, civil and judicial powers exercised by the then existing Government of the same, shall be vested in such person or persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for the maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion; and the President of the United States has, by his commission, bearing date the same 31st day of October, invested me with all the powers, and charged me with the several duties heretofore held and exercised by the Governor-General and Intendant of the Province:—I have therefore thought fit to issue this my proclamation, making known the premises, and to declare that the Government heretofore exercised over the said province of Louisiana, as well under the authority of Spain as of the French Republic, has ceased, and that of the United States of America is established over the same; that the inhabitants thereof will be incorporated in the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Fœderal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; that in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess; that all laws and municipal regulations which were in existence at the cession of the late Government, remain in full force, and all civil officers charged with their execution, except those whose powers have been specially vested in me, and except also such officers as have been entrusted with the collection of the revenue, are continued in their functions during the pleasure of the governor for the time being, or until provision shall otherwise be made.——And I do hereby exhort and enjoin all the inhabitants and other persons within the said province, to be faithful and true in their allegiance to the United States, and obedient to the laws and authorities of the same, under full assurance that their just rights will be under the guardianship of the United States, and will be maintained from all force or violence from without or within.——Given at the City of New Orleans, the 20th day of December, 1803, and of the independence of the United States of America the 28th.

WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, upon the Prospect of his Majesty the King's Recovery from his dangerous Sickness. To be used at Morning and

Evening Service, after the General Thanksgiving, throughout the Cities of London and Westminster, and elsewhere within the Bills of Mortality, on Sunday the 26th of February, 1804, and in all Churches and Chapels in the United Kingdom of England and Ireland, on the first Sunday after the Ministers thereof receive the same; and to be continued Twenty Days after.

O Almighty God, we render unto thee our unfeigned thanks and praise, that thou hast vouchsafed to be merciful and gracious to this Kingdom, in granting to thy Servant, our Sovereign, the hope and prospect of a speedy recovery from his dangerous sickness. Confirm and establish, we beseech thee, O Lord, the work which thou hast begun. Make the light of thy countenance to shine upon him, and renew in him his perfect strength. Grant that he may long continue a nursing father to thy church, and thy minister for good to all his subjects; and that, in the present crisis, he may be thy blessed instrument in restoring peace to the distracted world. And when thou hast lengthened his days on earth, in the enjoyment both of domestic happiness, and of public peace and prosperity, crown him O Lord, with everlasting glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

SPEECH *delivered by the* GOVERNOR *of* JAMAICA *to the* LEGISLATURE *of that Island in December*, 1803.

Gentlemen of the Council,—Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—I am happy to have it in my power to grant you a recess at this season of the year, when your presence is so essentially necessary upon your respective properties.——Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—I am much concerned that you have not given me an opportunity of thanking you for the supplies required at this eventful period in aid of the mother-country, for your own defence: but I trust that, upon more mature consideration, you will feel the propriety of supporting Government in the most effectual manner at your next meeting, and thereby restore to yourselves its fullest confidence in your loyalty and patriotism.——Gentlemen of the Council,—Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—I have to recommend to you, in the most particular manner, on your return to your several parishes, the pursuit of such provident measures as may best promote the security and tranquillity of the island.——I do therefore now, in his Majesty's name, prorogue this General Assembly to the 24th January next; and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.——It is reported on the continent that the Emperor of Russia has expressed his readiness to accede to a treaty with Great Britain and Turkey, for the protection of the Ottoman Empire: and that he has accordingly sent orders to the Russian fleet in the Black sea, to set sail immediately, with all the transports of troops attached to it, for the Morea. It is also said, that he has directed an additional number of battalions of infantry and squadrons of cavalry to be called into actual service, and marched into Lithuania, to join the army in that province. ——France is perfectly tranquil, notwithstanding the late conspiracy against the First Consul. Moreau is confined in the Temple, and has not yet been brought to trial: Pichegru was arrested on the morning of the 28th ult. in *Rue Chabenais*, where he was concealed; and whence after an ineffectual resistance, he was taken: Georges has, hitherto, escaped; but a reward has been offered for his apprehension, as well as that of his sixty assistants, and a decree has been enacted making it death for any person to harbour or conceal any of them. Every avenue and outlet from Paris is guarded; and throughout the whole city, the strictest search is carrying on for their discovery. The First Consul is receiving congratulations from all the civil and military bodies, and all the departments of the Republic.——The legislature of Jamaica has persisted in its refusal of the supplies which the Governor had been directed by Lord Hobart to require for the defence of that island; and, in December last, were prorogued in his Majesty's name to the 24th of January, with a reproach from the Governor which has excited considerable dissatisfaction. ——St. Domingo, according to the latest accounts from there, is in a very unsettled state. Cape-town has been ravaged and plundered by the negroes, who have begun to divide themseles into tribes according to their African origin, and among whom much dissention prevails. The French commissaries, at St. Jago de Cuba, have declared St. Domingo in a state of siege, and have fitted out some privateers at that place, which give annoyance to the trade of that island.—— It has recently been proposed, in the American House of Representatives, that a Committee should be appointed to consider the expediency of imposing duties on all foreign ships entering the ports of the United States,

as a compensation for the benefit of the light-houses erected at the expence of the United States, of the same nature as those now imposed upon American vessels entering British ports. The Mississippi Legislature has passed a law against duelling, imposing upon agressors a fine of one thousand dollars, imprisonment for twelve months, and a disqualification, for five years, for holding any office in the state: if either of the parties fall, the survivor, and his associates to suffer death.

DOMESTIC.——According to the reports of the King's physicians his Majesty continues in a state of convalescence. Their report on the 7th inst. was, that "his Majesty "continued gradually to recover," on the 8th that "There is no material alteration in "his Majesty since yesterday;" on the 9th that "His Majesty continues to go on in a "favourable way;" on the 10th that "We "continue to entertain a favourable opinion "of his Majesty's recovery;" on the 11th that "His Majesty is considerably better to-"day than he has yet been since the begin-"ning of his illness;" on the 12th that "His Majesty continues to recover;" on the 13th that "His Majesty continues to reco-"ver," and on the 14th that "His Majesty "recovers daily." On the 11th and 14th, it is said, his Majesty walked a little in the garden, and on the 11th Mr. Addington had an audience; none of the royal family have, however, been yet permitted to see the King. On the 9th inst. in the House of Lords, Earl Fitzwilliam, previous to the commission for granting the royal assent to several bills which had passed through both Houses, said, that he had it from high authority that his Majesty was not in such a state of mind as enabled him to exercise so important a branch of his prerogative as that now about to be gone into, and called for decisive information on the subject. In consequence of this, the Lord Chancellor said, that in so important a subject, he had proceeded with all due caution, even with fear and trembling; but he had thought it necessary to have a personal interview with the King, which he obtained, and in the course of which he had much serious discussion with his Majesty relative to the bills to which he was called to give the royal assent; that the result of those discussions was to impress his mind with the thorough conviction that his Majesty was competent to the personal exercise of all the functions of royal authority, and that, in bringing down the commission, he acted in obedience to his commands, and in a fair and conscientious discharge of his duty: he said, that he felt the weight of the great responsibility under which he acted, and he did not hesitate to become answerable for the measure which he was about to sanction. In the House of Commons, on the 7th instant, Sir John Wrottesley, in pursuance of a notice which he had previously given, moved that the House should go into a Committee to investigate the conduct of the Irish Government relative to the 23d of July, and their previous proceedings and preparations: this motion, after a very long and interesting debate, was negatived. On the 14th Mr. Creevy brought forward five resolutions for papers relative to the causes and conduct of the war carried on in the island of Ceylon, against the King of Candy: after some debate the previous question was moved upon the first of these motions and the rest were withdrawn. On the same day Mr. Francis proposed three motions relative to the causes and the conduct of the war carried on in the East Indies, against the Mahratta princes: after some debate the motions were withdrawn. During the week, the attention of Parliament has, also, been occupied with the discussion of the new volunteer bill, and a bill relating to the Irish revenue.

NAVAL.——An embargo has just been laid upon all the shipping in the ports of the Batavian Republic: and, last week, orders were sent from the Secratary of State's office to the custom-house, for laying an embargo on all vessels bound to any other ports than those of Spain, Portugal, the Mediterranean, Africa, America, and the East and West Indies. An expedition is preparing to shut up the port of Boulogne or some of the ports of Holland. Eighteen or twenty old vessels, some of which are of four hundred tons burthen, have been collected, and loaded with stones, which are united by iron bars and chains, so as to form one solid mass: these vessels are to be sent under the cover of the blockading squadron, to the ports for which they are intended, and are to be scuttled there, side by side, so as to lay the foundation for an embankment of sand, by which it is supposed, they will be completely shut up.—The London Gazettes of the last week contain no account of captures by any of his Majesty's ships.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

ANGLO-GALLIC CREDITORS.——This subject appeared to be closed, when the letter, which will be found in page 308 of this sheet, was received by the Editor. The public will have perceived, that these creditors have been very fairly dealt with. Their remonstrances have been inserted;

and, though of very considerable length, their representation of their case, which they themselves published, and circulated amongst the members of Parliament and other persons of influence, will be found entire, in the preceding sheet, page 366. It seems, however, that all this is not sufficient to ward off a charge of want of candour. These Anglo-Gauls are certainly "well-meaning" men, whatever they may be as to honesty, honour, and patriotism; for no one but a "well-meaning man," no one but an imitator of the "modest" Doctor, would have had the assurance to complain that this subject had not been fairly treated in the Register.——Whether these creditors have "half-abjured" their country, or not, shall be inquired by and by: at present some other parts of the letter, above referred to, demand a few remarks. It is denied, that the Anglo-Gallic creditors purchased the assignats and the "national domains" of France, and, as a *proof* that they did not make such purchases, the writer says, that they would, in consequence of that act, be chargeable with "high treason, seeing that, "at the period of the *depreciation* of the assignats, an act of Parliament had passed, "and then existed, making it high treason "to hold any correspondence, or to have "any money negotiation with France."—— This appears to be very little better than a quibble. The statement which the Anglo-Gaul here alludes to does not say, that *all* the assignats were purchased at two-thirds below par. It was obviously the average that was meant. But, is it not being very bold, for a "well-meaning" man, to say, or to infer, that *no* assignats were purchased at a degraded price; and that, too, upon no better proof than the circumstance of an act of Parliament having passed forbidding it? First; the act of Parliament was not passed till 1793; and, *before* that time, the assignats had lost much more than *one-half* of their nominal value. Secondly, who ever before asked us to conclude, that, because an act of Parliament had been passed against a certain traffic, such traffic no longer existed? There are acts of Parliament enough against smuggling. There are reams upon reams of revenue laws; there are penalties and oaths without end; but do we see, that a regard for either property, body, or soul; that ruin and infamy in this world, or everlasting torment in the world to come; do wee see, that any, or all, of these, are sufficient to deter men from disobeying the law? Why, then, should we believe that an act of Parliament has been so completely efficient in the particular case before us, a case in which the avoiding of detection was so very easy, and in which the parties to be detected were the most cautious, the slyest and most artful of all two-legged creatures. The fact is, and it is a notorious fact, that the act of Parliament, to which this writer refers, was enforced, or not, as suited the convenience of commerce, or rather of commercial men and money dealers. During a short space, indeed, there was an almost total suspension of intercourse; but it was soon opened again; and, whether by the means of Americans, or other foreigners, or by direct communication, the money speculations were constantly carried on. So that, the argument founded on the high treason act is worth just nothing at all.——This writer, alluding to the resource that was pointed out to the creditors, states, that they are refused "national domains" as an indemnity for the annihilation of their stock. It is dangerous to show the picture of food to a famished man. But, really, one could never have supposed, that in saying, "let these creditors go and seek their indemnity in those national domains;" one could never have supposed, that this would have been received as a piece of serious advice.——That *some portion* of the claims of these persons may arise from their having possessed stock in the French funds previous to the revolution nobody denies; but, without for a moment allowing that that circumstance gives the holders any right to an indemnity from Parliament, it may be safely asserted, that, of the three millions sterling, said to be due, not *one* arises from possessions in the funds of the monarchy.——This offended Anglo-Gaul makes what it is very likely he regards as a cutting allusion to "*Congress paper.*" His arrow is either very dull, or he aims it at a wrong object. Certainly there was very little difference in the conduct of those who speculated upon the plunder of the nobility and clergy, in France, and those who cheated the American soldiers of that which was to have been the reward of their toils, and who spared not even the widows and orphans of those soldiers who had been slain in the war. Very little difference indeed; but, what advantage the Anglo-Gaul could expect to derive from the allusion to "Congress paper," it would be very difficult to point out.——It is asked, "what way are "the justice and validity of this claim af-"fected by the merit or demerit of Mr. "Pitt?" No one said that they were affected thereby. It was only contended; nor would Mr. Pitt's name ever have been mentioned in the controversy, had not the Anglo-Gallic creditors themselves first brought

it forward in support of the principle, upon which their claim is founded. By a reference to their printed statement, it will be seen, that they accuse, before hand, of *presumption* all those who censure Mr. Pitt for having, in the treaty of 1786, adopted that principle. It, therefore, became necessary to show, that one might confer such censure, without meriting the charge of presumption; and, if, in defending oneself against such a charge, the defence assumed somewhat of an offensive nature, there was nothing in that, which is not fully justified by the laws of retaliation.——But, after all, we are told, that the claim of these persons "does not depend on the treaty of 1786, "nor upon the stipulations of any other "convention; but on the usages of nations, "and the good faith of France." Well, then, why is any appeal made to this nation? There is the "good faith of France" still to apply to. As to the *usage* of nations, however, that foundation will never do to stand upon; seeing, that the general usage and law of nations give a full right to every belligerent power, to confiscate all the property, of every description, belonging to its enemy, or the subjects of its enemy.—— This writer says, that, "although sacrificed "by perfidy on the one hand and *pusillanimity* on the other, it remains to be seen, "not so much by an appeal to the generosity of this country, so much as to a sense "of its own *honour*, whether, *in some future* "*negotiation*, these British claims will not "be supported with more energy and better success." What idea this gentleman may have of national honour it would, perhaps, be hard to say; but, there can be little doubt, but that a treaty may be made without any mention of his claim, and yet not be dishonourable to the country; not half, no, not a thousandth part, so dishonourable as that treaty of Amiens, against which these creditors never uttered one syllable *till now*. They have now found out, that the ministers were base and pusillanimous; but, not one word of this sort did they say at the time when the treaty was discussed; not one of them voted against the conduct of those by whom that treaty was made; they all joined in an "*humble* representation" to the French government; they remonstrated and intrigued with Lord Hawkesbury, the "*solid* young lord," the "safe politician;" but never did they think of appealing to the Parliament, till they wanted *money*; money which they could find nobody else fool enough to give them; then, and not till then, they came to the Parliament; that is, they came to the pockets of the people, who are to toil for the sake of indemnifying them for losses sustained by their French speculation! Of such men is it too much to say that they have *half* abjured their country?——No; no stipulations ought to be made in their favour in any future treaty. The bare *mention* of such a claim must cost something in a negotiation; the nation must give something for it, for even the setting of it up; and, therefore, it never ought to be brought forward: the nation is no more bound to urge such a claim, than it is to urge the claim of a merchant, whose ship has been captured by the enemy.

"CAPITAL, CREDIT, *and* CONFIDENCE."—Under this head a fact or two will be stated that will tend to illustrate what has been said, as to some of general principles, in the foregoing article.——It will be remembered, that, in Vol. IV. p 953, mention was made of the manner, in which the riches of England were made subservient to the carrying on of the war, on the part of France. In consequence of the cession of Louisiana to France, which cession was produced by the peace of Amiens, France acquired the right of selling it to America, which she has done for the sum of 11,250,000 dollars, being 2,531,250l. sterling, at 4s. 6d. the dollar, or 2,812,000l. in our present English bank paper, at 5s. the dollar; speaking, therefore, in the nearest round number, we must call the sum *three millions*. These three millions America agreed to pay in stock, to be created for that purpose, and the interest of which was to be payable in Europe, and transferable from the government of France to that of any other nation, or to individuals of France, or individuals of any other country. Having got his acquisition into this manageable, this really tangible form, Buonaparté naturally enough conceives the project of turning it at once into gold, or commodities which are to be purchased only with gold. He has no desire to bind France to America, to render himself, in some degree, dependent on America, by being constantly the creditor of America, that is to say, by having in her hands a large quantity of stock, which she can, at any time sequestrate, and, if necessary, confiscate: no; Buonaparté has no wish of that kind; it is above the reach of his mind, and, therefore, he modestly leaves it to great financiers, such as Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt, who, in a possession like that of which we are speaking, would have descried the foundation of another "solid system of finance," and would, probably, have made out of it another sinking fund. Buonaparté, who understands nothing at all of these means of "husband-

ing resources," instantly abandoned all the immense advantages of interest upon interest, and, like the boy with the golden-egg goose, set on foot a scheme for getting into his clutches the whole of the principal at once. But, where was he to look for a purchaser of his stock? Who was he to apply to for that purpose? Where but in England? To whom but to Englishmen? In short, as was before stated, the bargain is said to have been made, some time ago, by Sir Francis Baring and Company, the same merchants, on whom, during the late peace, the merchants of Philadelphia drew for payment for the provisions and stores supplied to the French army in St. Domingo. It is not meant to insinuate here, or in any other part of these remarks, that there was, or is, any thing either unlawful or even blameable in the transactions of these traders. Individual interests are frequently at variance with the interests of the nation, without any fault on the part of the individual, who, if a trader, will act like a trader, that is, he will get money, if he can; and if, in this pursuit, he injures his country, and yet acts lawfully, the fault is with the government of that country. To return to the subject immediately before us, the bargain with Buonaparté appears to have been concluded about the time that it was said to be in negotiation, as will be evident from the date of the following document, which is a correct copy of a certificate for a portion of the stock, of which we have been speaking.

"TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS

"LOUISIANA SIX PER CENT. STOCK.

"No. — Treasury of the United States, Register's Office, December the 24th, 1803.

"BE IT KNOWN, That there is due from the United States of America, unto FRANCIS BARING AND COMPANY, of London, Merchants, or their assigns, the sum of two thousand dollars, bearing interest at *Six per Centum per Annum* from the twentieth day of December, 1803, inclusively, payable in London, semi-annually; viz. on the first days of July and January, and at the rate of *four shillings and sixpence*, sterling, for each dollar, being stock created by virtue of an act, entitled, "An act authorizing the creation of "a stock to the amount of eleven millions "two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, "for the purpose of carrying into effect, "the convention of the 30th of April, "1803, between the United States of "America and the French Republic, and "making provision for the payment of "the same," passed the 10th day of November, 1803, the principal of which is "payable at the Treasury of the United "States, by annual instalments of not less "than one-fourth part each, the first of "which will commence fifteen years after "the 21st day of October, 1803; which "debt is recorded in this office, and is transferable only by appearance in person, or "by attorney, at the proper office, according to the rules and forms instituted for "that purpose."

"(Signed) JOSEPH NOURSE, *Register.*"

"Dolls. 2,000."

To trace this transaction to its ultimate consequence would be next to impossible, because that consequence may be materially affected by intervening events; but, it requires no great degree of penetration to discover, in its operation, effects very far indeed from advantageous to this country. Superficial observers are apt, upon such occasions, to say: "well, if Sir Francis Baring "has so much money to advance, it only "serves to show the immense riches of this "country; and, as he will, of course, duly "receive his interest, it is as well for him to "employ his money in this way as in any "other." That Sir Francis Baring is merely the speculator, is understood; because nobody imagines, in the first place, that he has three millions of money; and, in the next place, if he had, no one can suppose, that he would keep it all in Louisiana stock. He is the mere dealer, and, in order to make good his bargain, he, of course, sells his stock, just as loan-mongers sell slices of their omnium. In order, however, to preserve as much simplicity as possible, in the statement and reasoning upon this subject, it may be convenient to consider the wholesale dealer as being, in this particular instance, the sole holder of the stock that he has purchased..... But, this discussion would, I perceive, require a much greater space than I can, at present, allot to it: I shall, therefore, postpone it till my next, when an endeavour shall be made to render the subject familiar to the minds of those, who may happen not to have turned their attention towards it.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.——The bill for consolidating the volunteer acts has not yet passed the House of Commons. It has been committed and re-committed, and, it is thought, will be re-committed again. Upon one of the clauses a division has taken place, 26 for, and 27 against, a majority of one in favour of the Doctor against Mr. Pitt. It

was a clause of the first importance, and the scanty attendance shows, that the parliament as well as the country are grown tired and disgusted with the whole matter. ——Regular regiments are, at last, to be raised *for rank*, it seems. The case is, indeed, desperate. All the sources of recruiting have been cut off, and now the worst way of recruiting, except that of balloting is to be resorted to. The whole fabric exhibits, in every part, evident symptoms of decay. It appears to be in a galloping consumption, and will very probably experience the fate which such patients generally do experience in the hands of a quack.

GROUNDS OF THE WAR.——"Better "late than never," they say; and so the ministers must have thought, otherwise they would not have stopped *till now*, before they put forth any thing in reply to the repeated declarations of France, that "no armaments, "except for colonial service, was making in "her ports, at the date of the King's mes- "sage." Now, comes forth a pamphlet by Sir Francis D'Ivernois upon "the immense "war-like preparations which were made in "France instantly after the treaty of "Amiens." The Knight calls this pamphlet "a fragment of an historical exposi- "tion of the events which led to the rup- "ture of the treaty," and tells his readers, that it was intended to form the close of that production of his pen; but he adds that it appeared to him, that the facts which the fragment contains, were too little known, and could not be too much known, and, therefore, he published it first instead of last. It is, and probably ever will be, a subject of regret, that this thought did not strike the writer at a more early epoch. It is now more than a year since the king's message was sent to the parliament, and, whoever reads Sir Francis's pamphlet will see, that it might have been written in a very few days, not to say hours. Neither does the pamphlet, even at this last moment, seem to contain any statements or argument likely to produce much effect; and, if the work be what the author thinks it is; if it does contain facts that are too little known and that cannot be known too much, it may be not altogether unworthy of his mathematical powers to solve the problem of how many hundred years it will be before these facts will reach the eyes of the persons who have read our accusation in the Moniteur.—— At the close of his pamphlet Sir Francis has given us a list of the heads of his intended exposition; and, amongst the grounds of the war, on our part, he has reckoned the arrest of Captain D'Auvergne, an act which Lord Castlereagh insisted was "merely a pre- "caution of police."——Finance: the ruin of the French finances winds up the pamphlet. The Knight seems resolved never to give up this point. He is going (mercy on us!) to write *another* pamphlet, in order to convince the people of the Continent, that "if Buonaparté does not seize hold of "the rich prey of the British Isles, the "neighbours of France will never enjoy "durable repose, unless the French go- "vernment reduces its peace expenditure "to a level with its own internal income." It would be curious to see how he would make this out, and still more curious to see the effect of his success; but, is he not afraid, that the neighbours of France will, in this case, most earnestly pray, that Buonaparté may seize hold of the British Islands? If such seizure is likely to procure them durable repose, is it not pretty certain, that they will endeavour to assist in the undertaking? And has not Sir Francis over-shot himself here? Has he not gone beyond his last?——And are we, indeed, still so doltish as to listen to this idle talk about the ruin of the finances of France? Alas! most dearly have we heretofore paid for this flattery of the opinions of a minister. Were the pamphlet paid for; were the writer pensioned, or promoted; and did the matter end there, it would be a thing to be laughed at: but, the minister, in too many instances, builds an erroneous opinion upon what is thus advanced, or, at least it confirms him in an erroneous opinion already conceived, and to flatter which, without any evil design, is the object of the writer.

JAMAICA.—In another part of this sheet will be found the speech of the Governor at the proroguing of the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica. Of the proceedings of the Assembly we have no account; but, from the sentiments and language of the Governor, the dispute between them appears to be a continuation of that which was begun, with so much warmth, in 1802; to wit, the Governor calls upon the Assembly for money to defray the expense of maintaining an additional number of troops; the Assembly, instead of consenting thereto, refuses, upon grounds which they state very much at length, conclude in the following words: "that "from the various considerations already "stated, the House consider it to be their "duty not to comply with the requisitions "signified in Lord Hobart's dispatches, of "paying and subsisting 5,000 troops at the "sole expense of this colony, and their "resistance is founded on constitutional "right and justice; but, if they could be

induced to depart from their duty by an inclination to comply with the ministers requisition, the circumstances, in which this country is, at this time, involved, from the great depression in the price of its various staples and articles of commerce—the exorbitant rise in all articles of British and Irish merchandize and provisions imported—the advanced price of every article necessary for cultivation and subsistence—the *injurious* regulations and restrictions on its produce in the British markets—the ruinous and *oppressive* duties existing, and likely to be increased, on its imports and exports to Great Britain—the *difficulties* attending its commercial intercourse with the American States, whence many most essential articles necessary for carrying on the cultivation of our properties, and for the subsistence of the inhabitants of all descriptions, can *alone* be obtained.; arising from *the prohibition to export any article of our staple productions, except rum and molasses, in American bottoms*—and the pressure of a very heavy existing debt, for which a high rate of interest is paid—render it altogether, totally impossible for the people to pay such an enormous amount of additional taxes, as would be necessarily required to support such an expensive establishment." * This is the dispute, which has now been renewed; and, it behoves us to take care, that the "well-meaning" ministers do not excite an open rupture in this very tender part of His Majesty's dominions. Mark well the sentiment relative to the intercourse with the United States of America, whence "*alone*" subsistence and other essential articles can be obtained. Observe, that the assembly complains of the prohibition to export sugar and coffee directly to the United States in American bottoms. That is, the "well meaning" ministers have so wisely managed matters, as at once to excite discontent, and to embolden the discontented to complain of the hardships produced by the English navigation act! Is it not surprising, that a dispute of such a nature, and in such a colony, should have existed ever since the month of June, 1802, without having called forth any motion, any speech, or even any the most distant allusion, in either House of Parliament?—Of the merits of the dispute between the governor and the assembly it becomes no private individual hastily to offer an opinion; but, for the existence of the dispute, for so long a time, the ministers are responsible; and one cannot but perceive, in their requisition to the assembly of Jamaica, another instance of that system of extorting the means of military defence without application to parliament. Such was their conduct at Bristol, where the parishes rejected their proposition upon grounds similar to those urged by the Jamaica assembly.—— Another consideration is, if an additional number of troops are necessary at Jamaica, of which necessity there is little doubt, why are they not there? Why is not the means of maintaining them voted here? Is the colony to be left with an inadequate defence, during the continuation of the dispute? These are questions that will, probably, be asked in another place ere long; but assuredly, they ought even at this moment, to engage men's minds; for, is there any one who can tranquilly contemplate the consequences that may arise from a serious disturbance in Jamaica? Next to Ireland that island is our vulnerable point. Its revolt, or subjugation, might not be so speedily fatal to Great-Britain; but, the effect would be terrible; it would shake the empire to its very foundation; it would be a signal of general defection; it would be justly regarded as the harbinger of our annihilation as a great and independent power.—The subject is of vast importance, and calls for immediate attention.

FINANCE.—In the present volume, p. 303, it was observed, that, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the public, another emission of *Exchequer Bills* would be resorted to. This has already taken place, the bill is now in its progress through parliament for the emission of paper of this sort to the amount of 2,000,000l. and the pretext is, "to *give time* for *the arrangement* of the war taxes." What! to give time for the *arrangement* of taxes imposed in the month of June last! Surprizing! What arrangement can be wanted? What was there to do but to *collect* the taxes, which the parliament at the instance of the minister, thought it wise to impose? They *have* not been collected. What is the reason? They *cannot* be collected. What is the reason? The minister said they could be collected. And is such a man, then, fit to be a minister of finance? Is such a man fit to be a nobleman's steward? Is he fit to be any thing requiring financial knowledge, even of the lowest, the very lowest description? And why do we, therefore, patiently bear his sway without any remonstrance, without any effort to remove him, without putting up one single prayer to our gracious Sovereign to commit his and our affairs to abler hands? While this is our conduct, we merit all the ruin that is falling upon our heads.—Those who turn their minds to fi-

* See the whole of these proceedings, Register, Vol. II. p. 313 and 328; also p. 265.

nancial matters will do well to watch the progress of the measures of supply for the present year. The creation of exchequer bills is a trick that will eke out appearances for a while; but, if the annihilation of them is not provided for in the ways and means, let it be remembered, that they go to augment, first the unfunded debt, and afterwards the funded debt; and, let it also be remembered, that the Doctor is pledged to carry on this war, "even to a protracted "period *without making any addition to the* "*national debt.*" Let this never be forgotten. With the aid of this declaration, which admits of no subterfuge, we shall, at all times, be able to try his statements and accounts.—The deception which is practised upon the public, or which is produced unintentionally, relative to this subject of finance is truly astonishing. There lies now upon the table before me, a publication entitled, "Moule's compendium of the Funds, 1803" in which publication there is "a statement of finance and expenditure, 1803." In this statement, the accounts of the nation are struck, as it were in an account current, leaving on the credit side a balance of 280,502l. But, the taxes are stated to have produced 5,500,000l. more than they have produced, and on the other side, the issue of Exchequer Bills is stated at 5,000,000l. short of the sum issued; making a difference of 10,500,000l. Yet this publication is dedicated, "by permission," to the Doctor, and was sent to me as something conveying useful information, and that, too, by a very opulent and eminent merchant! If such persons are thus deceived, how can we wonder at the total darkness that prevails amongst the editors of newspapers, and amongst the people generally? The publication, to which I have here referred, is very elegantly *engraven on copper-plate.* Thousands and thousands of copies have, probably, been circulated. And, will any man say, that it is right for the nation to be thus deceived? To be thus led on blindfolded to the very verge of some great convulsion? Can any rational person hope, that a few weeks, or a few months, will be sufficient to prepare the public mind for the shock which must finally happen? Since about the time that the funding system arose, it has been growing more and more the vague to boast of the "*enlightened* age," in which we live; and to speak of all the time beyond a hundred years or two back, as the "*dark* ages." We prattle very prettily about the superstition of our forefathers, those who introduced christianity into our island, those who founded our churches and our colleges, those who bestowed the endowments that we in too many instances have had the gracelessness to squander, those from whom we derive almost every thing that we possess that is truly valuable and great: these men we describe as foolishly credulous; but, I defy any one to produce from the true history either of their social or religious conduct and opinions, any single instance of credulity so complete, so disgraceful to the human mind, as that which now prevades the inhabitants of the 'Change.

CONSPIRACY AT PARIS. — Pichegru, it appears, has been taken and is actually a prisoner at Paris. As far as one can judge from what has transpired, it seems that Moreau had some connexion with the conspirators; nor is there much room for doubt, that the persons concerned were, in some degree, at least, acting with the knowledge, if not with the consent and encouragement of our ministers. But, it has by no means been made to appear, and I trust it will not, that *assassination* was the object, or that such a deed made any part of the plan. Of this, however, we shall, doubtless learn more, when the trials have taken place. In the mean time, we must regard the undertaking as intended to excite revolt in France, for the purpose of oversetting the Consul, and certainly with the profession, if not the intention, of restoring the king. It will, therefore, I trust, be excused, if I take the liberty to remind my readers of what was said upon this subject, in Vol. IV. of the Register, p. 163, by a correspondent, who wrote under the name of INQUISITOR, and who, in speaking of a plan of the kind which has now been attempted to be executed, made the following prophetic observations: "My third ob- "jection is to the *dangers* of such a plan. "These are in truth so many and so great, "that I doubt whether they would not al- "together be an absolute impediment to "it.——In my mind they are such, that I "certainly would not choose to adopt any "plan subject to them; and, I think, no "reasonable man would.——Let us con- "sider a little what they are. In the first "place there is the danger of a discovery. "Any event of that sort would be of course "fatal to those whose assistance may thus "have been gained; and this to an ho- "nourable mind would be sufficient, I "should imagine, to outweigh all the sup- "posed advantages of the plan. For how "would a man feel, when he heard of the "execution of persons, who only became "liable to it through his means, and at his "instigation? But the bad consequences "of a discovery do not end here. The

whole scheme would of course be entirely detected, and whatever progress had been made, and whatever money spent, the work would be to be begun afresh. And then it would not be a work of the same difficulty and danger only; but a work of increased dangers, and increased difficulties; increased on account of the fear persons would entertain of entering on a scheme already once detected, and on account of the additional precautions and vigilance, that would be exerted, after the discovery of our attempt, to detect new ones. The discovery too, in this case, is not a very pleasant circumstance. That a country, which has even a pretence to call itself, and esteem itself a great country, should attempt to pursue a great plan of policy by bribes and underhand means, is not a very dignified nor a very noble line of policy. It is worthy only of a people, who think of nothing but money; whose God is their gold; who think it will clothe them and feed them, and fight for them, and do every thing for them. The discovery of such a plan of action, would, I am afraid, fully justify all the reproaches thrown out against us as a nation of shop-keepers. It might authorize, too, somewhat of the accusation of Punic Faith, which has been often made. In short, for my own part, I think, the bad consequences of a discovery in this case would be so many and so grievous, that even if there was little chance of such a discovery (and I believe there would, on the other hand, be great chance of it), and even if in its other parts, I thought the scheme as advisable as I think it is impolitic; even in that case, for fear of this discovery, I would not attempt it at all."——The ministers tell people, that they do not read the Register, and, if they tell truth, is not the fact to be regretted? The passage I have here quoted needs no comment: it is applicable to the case, that if the writer had then possessed the information, which the public is now in possession of, he could hardly have described the plan, its failure, and its consequences in more appropriate terms. Nevertheless, this writer was, at the time when he wrote, regarded as extremely "chivalrous," a perfect Windsmite, a man wanting "prudence and discretion," and, therefore, "by no means a *safe politician*." The safe politicians have now showed the world what they can do. The fate of the unfortunate men, who have embarked in their schemes, ought to be a warning to the nation. It will not be so, however. The project was, at best, low and dirty, and, if it did fail, "the "will must be taken for the deed." But, if the project had borne the marks of high and generous sentiment, the projector would never have been forgiven: his failure would have been thrown in his teeth every day in the year; every penny he had expended would have been counted a thousand times over; and, if, perchance, a life had been lost, though in fair and honourable combat, the blood would have remained upon his head to the last hour of his existence. ——It cannot but strike one as something extremely whimsical, that Moreau should have become such a favourite with us Englishmen. I have never heard of one good act of that man's whole life. We all know, that he basely betrayed Pichegru, who had been his friend and protector; and, as to his deeds of plunder and of blood, they are pretty well recorded in the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, where he was guilty of cruelties the description of which makes the blood run cold. I have heard of no act of contrition on his part; nothing have I heard of to wipe away his crimes; nor can I, merely because he is regarded as the rival and enemy of Buonaparté, bring myself to look upon him as a person to be respected, admired, applauded, and beloved. We hear persons, who refuse to listen, for a moment, to any report that states Moreau to have been concerned in an assassination plot. He might not; for, no such plot might exist, perhaps; but, I can see nothing in his character, or in his former conduct, or in his late situation, to make us regard such participation, on his part, as any thing incredible. There are persons, who, when they are told, that Moreau had conferences with the conspirators, reply, that he was too honourable a man to betray confidential communications. But, let these persons ask themselves how this doctrine agrees with the laws of England, which, though the mildest in the world, condemn a man to death for such "*honourable*" dealing. Besides, if Moreau had disapproved of the plot, be its nature what it might, and if honour forbade him to make a discovery, honour most assuredly did not forbid him to oblige the conspirators to desist; and, we have not heard that they did desist, but are told, that they remained plotting at Paris, till the day on which Moreau himself was arrested.——Moreau is, however, by no means the only object of our partiality, which has been shown towards several other French generals; indeed towards every one, in whom we could possibly find any thing to form a contrast disadvantageous to the man *whom we fear*. We were once in love with *Kleber*, about

whom the philanthropists of London made much more clamour than they did about the French royalists so basely given up to butchery at Guadaloupe. It was *Dessaix* that won the battle of Marengo, and we discovered, after he was dead, that he was "a most worthy character," notwithstanding his acts of rebellion. And, it was not *this* Buonaparté who produced the last revolution; it was his brother *Lucien*, whose courage supplied the want of that quality in the other. In short, we seem to catch at any thing wherewith to persuade ourselves and the world, that Buonaparté is a contemptible wretch; but, while we do not succeed in hushing our own fears, the ill-natured world perceives our intention and repays us with real contempt a thousand fold.——The world is just, perfectly just. It bids us *beat* Buonaparté, especially if he be so poor and pusillanimous a creature; for, if we truly describe him, what description will suit those who have recourse to conspiracies against him?—I have heard of an attempt to justify this plotting, upon the ground, that Buonaparte is a troubler of the world, and that it is impossible ever to live in peace with him. This may be true, and I believe it is; but it forms no justification for our using foul means against him. He does, indeed, plainly say, "I will beat you, and "conquer you, and make slaves of you;" but, in so saying, does he not expose himself and his people to be beaten, and conquered, and made slaves of by us; is there not a perfect reciprocity of dangers and advantages. "But," say the lovers of peace and a large loaf, "we do not want to "beat the French; we do not want to "conquer their country and to make "slaves of them." Well; Buonaparté cannot help that. It is a matter of taste. He chooses to fight for conquest; we do not: we are fond of defensive war; our "*glory*" is to preserve ourselves from being captured and yoked; and, shall we, because our fancy differs from his, thereon found a right to employ against him means not allowed of in war? But, "we do not "like *war at all*, either for offence or de-"fence." Very true; but this again is matter of liking or expedience, and he does like it, or he thinks it expedient. What, then, have we left, whereby to obtain redress; whereby to chastise the enemy? War. It is, at last, a mere question of *power*; and all complaint, on our part, all the *blame* which we throw upon him, is perfectly childish. In reasoning about the conduct of nations, men are ever apt to retain the notions which they imbibe in common life, and which they proceed upon in discussing the conduct of individuals; than which a more erroneous course cannot be pursued. Between individuals there is always a third party duly authorised to decide, and having full power to enforce its decisions. Disputing nations have no such umpire. Each is, and ever must be while it is independent, the sole judge of its own actions. For policy's sake, each does, indeed, endeavour to justify its conduct in the eyes of the world; but, it is, after all, the sword, or the dread of the sword, that must decide the dispute; and, to be finally in the right, a nation must be victorious.——All our complainings, therefore, are of no avail; they will obtain us neither the assistance nor the compassion of other nations: and, we may be well assured, that what we call the violence and injustice of France will never be regarded as a valid plea for any act, on our part, contrary to the established usages of war.

NAVAL INQUIRY.—On the 15th inst. a motion for papers, relative to the Navy, was made, in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt. The motion was supported by Admiral Berkeley, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sturges, Sir William Elford, and Mr. Ponsonby; and was opposed by Mr. Tierney, Sir C. Pole, Sir Edward Pellew, Capt. Markham, Sir William Curtis, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones and the Doctor. The debate, which lasted about eight hours, terminated in a division, 130 for the motion, 201 against it, leaving the Doctor a majority of only 71. ——When it is remembered, that the House consists of more than 600 members, it will be, at once, perceived, that it was, on this occasion, comparatively very thin; and, those who have had a little experience in parliamentary tactics will know, that *keeping away from divisions* is one of the first symptoms of back-sliding.——Mr. Sheridan has, however, at last, made his appearance again, and we shall now see the manly and consistent part he will act. He observed, that it was the first time in his life that he had voted against inquiry; and, it would be very difficult to account for his new line of conduct upon any other ground than that of his having *got one place*, and his being upon the look-out for another. Zealous patriot! After having served his King and Country so long in Parliament, he is now willing to take upon him the burthen of office!

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.